


**THE STRUGGLE
BETWEEN TWO LINES
AT THE
MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS
OF WOMEN**



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

**THE STRUGGLE
BETWEEN TWO LINES
AT THE
MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS
OF WOMEN**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1963**

CONTENTS

SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN by Yang Yun-yu, Leader of the Chinese Women's Delegation	1
STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION ON THE DRAFT "PROGRAMME OF THE W.I.D.F."	10
STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION ON THE SINO-INDIAN BOUNDARY QUESTION	12
STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION ON "THE APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF THE WORLD"	17
REPORT ON THE MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN by Yang Yun-yu, Leader of the Chinese Women's Delegation	20
RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT FOR ACTIONS OF CHINESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION AT THE MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN	59

**SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS
OF WOMEN**

BY YANG YUN-YU

Leader of the Chinese Women's Delegation

(June 25, 1963)

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the women of China, the Chinese Women's Delegation greets you all and requests you to convey the Chinese women's sincere friendship to the women of your countries.

Since the Fourth Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation (W.I.D.F.), the people of all lands have scored great successes in their struggles against imperialism, in defence of world peace, for winning and safeguarding national independence and for democratic freedoms and social progress. The masses of women have played an important role in these struggles.

Tempered in struggle and with growing political consciousness, women of different countries are becoming increasingly aware that imperialism is the enemy of world peace, that imperialism is the enemy of oppressed nations and that imperialism is also the main source of the oppression, enslavement and menaces to which the women and other people of various countries are subjected.

In its vain attempt to dominate and enslave the people of the world, the Kennedy Administration of the United States is further intensifying its efforts to apply its "strategy of peace." While talking glibly about durable and just peace, it is in fact pursuing with redoubled vigour its policies of aggression and war. Moreover, it makes poisoning the relations between China and the Soviet Union and splitting the socialist camp a major component of this strategy. In south Viet Nam, the United States is engaged in barbarous "special warfare." In Laos, it has rekindled the flames of civil war. It is hanging on in south Korea and still occupying China's territory of Taiwan. It is energetically sponsoring the Japan-south Korea talks and is moving its nuclear submarines into Japanese ports. In order to cover up its ferocious features, it uses such names as "the Peace Corps," "Alliance for Progress," "Food for Peace" and "aid" to facilitate its political, economic and cultural infiltration into many countries for carrying out neo-colonialist expansion. It even encroaches upon the independence and sovereignty of some of its own allies. In the United States itself, monopoly capital is bleeding the working people white, and cruelly slaughtering our Negro brothers and sisters.

The United States has never stopped its aggression and interference against Cuba. Spokesmen of the U.S. Government have repeatedly made it clear that the United States had given no assurance for not invading Cuba, stressing that communism in the Western Hemisphere was unnegotiable. Whatever its schemes, it has failed to subjugate the united and dauntless Cuban people who are defending the sovereignty and dignity of their motherland by relying on their own strength. It will

surely receive even heavier blows from the Cuban people with their mighty moral weapons and enjoying the support of the people of the whole world. The peoples of the world will always shout, "Cuba si, Yankees no" and will never permit U.S. imperialism to commit aggression and interference against Cuba.

Owing to the aggression and plunder by the U.S. imperialists and other colonialists, millions of women and children in many Asian, African and Latin American countries are suffering from poverty, hunger and disease and are dying in great numbers. In south Viet Nam, numerous women and children have been killed by the chemical weapons used by U.S. imperialism. In those African countries that have not yet achieved independence, the sufferings of the broad masses of women and children are even more unbearable. In Latin America, as the Second "Havana Declaration" has exposed, for each thousand dollars wrested from the people there by U.S. imperialism, a dead body is left behind. In some countries in Latin America, infant mortality reaches as high as 300 per thousand. The prisons of the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries are filled with fighters who have taken an active part in the national democratic movements; many of whom are women. In the oppressed nations, the very existence of the masses of women is not guaranteed, let alone their rights.

In capitalist countries, the burdens of arms race and war preparations weigh heavily on the masses of working people. Confronted with soaring prices and exorbitant taxes and the menace of unemployment, wives and mothers worry day and night about the livelihood of their families. Their democratic rights are not guaranteed.

After prolonged struggles, the people of the socialist countries have won the great victory of socialist revolution. This has opened up broad prospects for the emancipation of women and the happy life of children. However, the imperialists are still threatening our socialist countries with war. They are carrying on subversion and infiltration and attempting to restore capitalism in the socialist countries through "peaceful evolution." In order to protect the fruits of the socialist revolution which we have won at the cost of blood and to defend the happy life of our women and children, we still face the serious task of fighting against imperialism.

The broad masses of women of the world through their own experience have clearly perceived that, in order to defend world peace, to win liberation of the oppressed nations, to secure democratic freedoms and social progress and to defend the rights of women and children, they must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its policies of aggression and war. This is not just the task of the women of one region or continent but the common task of women throughout the world.

The W.I.D.F. should keep alive its anti-fascist and anti-imperialist tradition and give full expression to the urgent demands of the women of all continents. Those who claim that anti-imperialism is the task for the political parties and not for the women's organizations, and emphasize that the central tasks now facing the women's movement are general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence, fail to see, nor wish to see the excruciating miseries of women under imperialist oppression. They fail to understand, nor wish to understand that oppressed women cannot survive without fighting against imperialism.

In the face of aggression and threats of war by imperialism, to strive for general disarmament is an important task of the world peace movement and also a task of the international women's movement. But this definitely must not and should not be made the sole task. The struggle for general disarmament definitely cannot replace or abolish various struggles against imperialism. Nor can it be used to replace or abolish the struggle of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. While mothers and children in south Viet Nam are being massacred by the U.S. imperialists, can the people there be told to accept general and complete disarmament instead of taking up arms to fight against imperialism? Among the peoples of those African countries which have not yet attained independence, some are being subjected to armed suppression by imperialism and old and new colonialism at this very moment. How is it possible for them to sit and wait for the realization of disarmament instead of rising to fight for national liberation? To strive for general disarmament at a time when the imperialists are carrying on general arms race, it is imperative to direct our struggle against imperialism and to expose and oppose the imperialist policies of arms race and war preparations. To do otherwise is deliberately to lull and dupe the peoples of the world and to divert their attention from the real target of struggle.

Nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive. U.S. imperialism is actively preparing for a nuclear war and is pursuing the policy of nuclear blackmail in an attempt to achieve world domination. The Chinese people have always opposed the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and stood for a total ban on nuclear weapons, that is to say, total prohibition of the testing, manu-

facture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons and the complete destruction of the existing nuclear arsenal. We firmly support the struggles of all peoples against nuclear weapons. We support the Japanese people in their struggle against the mooring of nuclear submarines of U.S. imperialism at Japanese ports. We hold that by relying on the united struggle of all peace-loving countries and people, it is possible to force imperialism to accept an agreement for banning nuclear weapons.

We Chinese women consistently support the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems on the basis of the five principles initiated by our Government, namely, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. In accordance with these five principles and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, our Government has concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of peace and friendship with many Asian and African countries. Peaceful coexistence refers to a relationship between states with different social systems, and must not be extended to cover relationships between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries, or between oppressed and oppressor classes. At no time is it possible for the oppressed nations and peoples to coexist peacefully with the imperialists, nor should the former be told to do so. To ask the oppressed nations and peoples to coexist peacefully with imperialism is to force them to give up their struggle and to keep them for ever in the position of being oppressed and enslaved. To tell the oppressed nations and peoples to coexist peacefully with the imperialists in order that one can enter

into a compromise or "co-operation" with the imperialists is tantamount to sacrificing the fundamental interests of these countries and peoples and serving the interests of imperialism.

Dear friends, the serious tasks of struggle require women from all continents to unite still more closely on the common ground of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism and defending world peace. We should rely on the working men and women of all countries and unite with all those who can be united to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism and reactionaries of various countries. We are confident that by relying on the combined struggle of the forces of the socialist camp, of the national-liberation movement, of the working-class movement and all other peace-loving forces, it is possible to frustrate the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

The Chinese Women's Delegation has come to this congress with a desire to strengthen unity and with a serious sense of responsibility towards world peace, human progress and the defence of the rights of women and children. We will always strengthen our unity with sisters of various countries in our common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, supporting and encouraging each other.

We have all along been upholding and defending unity, but unity must be based on principles. Only by basing itself on principles can unity be really solid and unbreakable and stand all tests.

Finally, the Chinese Women's Delegation would like to put before the congress the following proposals:

1. Affirm that the struggles against imperialism and new and old colonialism, in defence of world peace, for

winning and safeguarding national independence, for democratic freedoms and for social progress, and in defence of the rights of women and children are the common tasks of the women of all countries today.

2. Explicitly point out that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous enemy of world peace, the enemy of the national-liberation movement and the source of oppression, exploitation and discrimination to which women and children of many countries are subjected; call upon women of all countries to maintain the sharpest vigilance against all machinations of U.S. imperialism.

3. Resolutely oppose the policies of war and aggression pursued by imperialism headed by the United States; oppose the arms expansion and war preparations carried on by imperialism; demand a complete ban on and total destruction of nuclear weapons, dismantling of foreign military bases and withdrawal of troops stationed on foreign soil and strive for general disarmament.

4. Resolutely support the oppressed nations' struggle for national independence, and the newly independent countries' struggle for safeguarding their sovereignty and winning complete political and economic independence; demand total elimination of the colonial system; oppose aggression, enslavement and interference by imperialism and old and new colonialism.

5. Call on women of all countries to take an active part in struggle, to link their destiny closely with the current struggle of the people of the world, to defend the rights of women and children and to raise the status of women in political and economic fields and in both society and family.

6. Appeal to the women of the whole world, irrespective of their races, political views, religious beliefs and

professions, to strengthen their solidarity, support each other and, together with the other people of all countries, form the broadest possible united front directed against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and to wage a concerted struggle for the realization of the above-mentioned goals.

**STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE WOMEN'S
DELEGATION ON THE DRAFT
"PROGRAMME OF THE W.I.D.F."**

(June 29, 1963)

Now that the congress is putting the draft "Programme of the W.I.D.F." to the vote, we of the Chinese Women's Delegation wish to make the following solemn statement.

The draft "Programme of the W.I.D.F." now being submitted for adoption by the congress is one which foregoes opposition to imperialism and which follows an erroneous line. It fails to point out that the source of war is imperialism and that the most dangerous enemy of peace is U.S. imperialism. It fails to point out that the correct way to defend peace and prevent war is to rely mainly on the concerted struggle of the people of the world against the policy of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States. It fails to point out that the national-liberation movement represents a mighty force in defence of world peace. It fails to point out that the movement of women's emancipation is closely linked with the current struggles of the people of the world and that women of various countries can win their own emancipation and genuinely safeguard the rights of women and children only by taking a firm stand against imperialism, colonialism and reaction in various countries. Although it carries a few isolated phrases supporting women who are persecuted under imperialism,

in essence it nevertheless makes general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence the most urgent tasks of the women of the world. It does not oppose imperialism but speaks hollowly about women's rights and about broader unity in an attempt to lead the world women's movement onto an erroneous and dangerous path. Such a draft programme is not conducive to mobilizing the broadest masses of women of the world to struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. Some people who obstinately try to impose on others the programme with its erroneous line are deliberately creating a split and undermining the unity of the women's movement. These people should be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

In the course of discussion on the draft programme the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China has given it a serious and careful study and has offered its own proposals to the W.I.D.F. We had sincerely hoped to reach unanimity through consultation. But some W.I.D.F. leaders persisted in their erroneous views and our proposals were completely rejected. In order to defend the fundamental interests of the women of the world and to uphold their unity, we cannot but make clear the solemn attitude of the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China, and resolutely oppose the draft programme.

**STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE WOMEN'S
DELEGATION ON THE SINO-INDIAN
BOUNDARY QUESTION**

(June 29, 1963)

Dear Friends,

We of the Chinese Women's Delegation have come to the World Women's Congress with a desire to strengthen unity. We have come to join delegates from other countries in the deliberations on the common tasks of women of the world. We are therefore categorically against bringing up a border dispute between two Asian countries at the congress. However, even before the opening of the congress the Indian delegates had repeatedly raised this matter at the bureau meeting slandering China for alleged aggression against India. We have repeatedly made clear our solemn stand on this question. But they have now brought it up again at the congress. In doing so, they were serving the expansionist and anti-China policies of the Indian Government, diverting the attention of women of the world from the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and in defence of world peace, and undermining unity and creating confusion and split. That the boundary dispute between two Asian countries should have been injected into the World Women's Congress held in Moscow is a carefully designed manoeuvre to whip up an anti-China campaign.

After an Indian delegate had raised the Sino-Indian boundary question at the plenary session we requested the floor from the chairman to make a statement. To our astonishment, however, the organizers of the congress arbitrarily deprived the Chinese delegation of its right to speak, in contravention of elementary democratic principles. We cannot but express our deepest regret on this.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is a question left over by history. The Chinese Government has consistently stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of this question through negotiation on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is in this spirit that our Government has settled through friendly negotiations the boundary questions left over by history with Burma, Nepal and Pakistan respectively and is now carrying on boundary negotiations with Afghanistan. Similarly, the Sino-Indian boundary question can only be settled through peaceful negotiation.

The Chinese Government has more than once proposed negotiation to the Indian Government and has expressed appreciation for the efforts of friendly countries to promote direct negotiation between China and India. The Indian Government, however, has taken a different attitude. It invariably blocks the road towards negotiation by raising all kinds of preconditions. Likewise, its present insistence that China must accept the Colombo proposals without reservation is nothing but a trick, designed to impose its preconditions on China in the name of the Colombo proposals. The countries participating in the Colombo conference were well intentioned in making mediation, and their proposals were meant as a recommendation to China and India for their consideration. But the Indian Government is now bent on plac-

ing the conference participants in the position of an arbiter by turning their proposals into an unquestionable arbitration. Such a move of the Indian Government with its ulterior motive runs counter to the desire of the participants of the Colombo conference.

Now, what is the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question? After all, who has committed aggression against whom? Who was it that provoked the armed conflict? Who is it that has been unwilling to conduct peaceful negotiations? The facts are there for all to see. The Indian Government has long occupied more than 90,000 square kilometres of Chinese territory on the eastern and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Since 1961, and particularly in 1962, the Indian Government has continuously nibbled away Chinese territory on the western sector of the border and set up strongpoints for further aggression. The Chinese side repeatedly showed forbearance and appealed for negotiation and the Indian Government mistook this for an indication that China was weak and could be bullied. Finally, in October last year, the Indian Prime Minister personally gave the order to clear Chinese frontier guards from Chinese territory, thereby precipitating the subsequent large-scale armed conflict. China struck back in self-defence only when she had been pressed beyond the limits of forbearance and left with no room to retreat. Following this, the Chinese Government took the initiative in bringing about the ceasefire, withdrawing its own troops, releasing all captured Indian military personnel and sending back large quantities of captured military materiel. Thanks to these measures the situation on the Sino-Indian border has been eased.

These measures taken by the Chinese Government on its own initiative have not only represented a positive response to the Colombo proposals, but have shown that it has put into effect or even exceeded the requirements made by these proposals on the Chinese side. The people of all countries who love peace and uphold justice have expressed their appreciation of these peaceful efforts of the Chinese Government. However, instead of responding positively to these initiatives of the Chinese side, the Indian Government has intensified its efforts to fan up war hysteria and worsen Sino-Indian relations. The Indian Government and some Indian politicians constantly call on their people to get ready for a long-term war against China.

As everybody knows, the Indian Government has got the active support of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. It has accepted huge military aid from the United States, thus throwing off its cloak of non-alignment. It has continued to violate Chinese territory and air space and make military provocations. It should be especially mentioned that the Indian Government has been persecuting innocent Chinese residents in India in disregard of the code of international conduct. All this shows that the Indian Government has no sincere wish to hold negotiations with China. It all depends on the Indian Government whether negotiation can take place and whether a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question fair and reasonable to both sides can be found through peaceful negotiation.

We Chinese people have always had at heart the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples and the common cause of opposing imperialism. We hope to solve the Sino-Indian boundary question by means of

peaceful negotiation. We Chinese people cherish a profound traditional friendship for the diligent and intelligent Indian people. We are convinced that no matter how many obstacles may be placed in the way by the Indian Government, the common aspirations of the Chinese and Indian peoples to live for ever in friendship will eventually help bring about a satisfactory solution to the Sino-Indian boundary question.

**STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE WOMEN'S
DELEGATION ON "THE APPEAL TO THE
WOMEN OF THE WORLD"**

(June 29, 1963)

We are of the opinion that the struggle of the women of the world to win their rights and safeguard children's happiness is closely linked with the struggles of the people of the world against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, in defence of world peace, to win and safeguard national independence and to win democratic freedoms and social progress. Without opposing imperialism and without unflagging struggle against it, peace and national independence cannot be ensured, nor women's rights and children's happiness secured. However, "The Appeal to the Women of the World" has bypassed the fundamental question of opposing imperialism. It fails to point out that the most dangerous enemy of world peace is U.S. imperialism, it fails to expose and condemn the policy of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States. While paying lip-service to the right of all nations to freedom and independence and to the need of eliminating the shame of colonialism, it fails to point out that the enemies of oppressed nations are imperialism and old and new colonialism. This is no genuine support to national independence but is in fact denying the important contribution of the national-liberation movement of Asia, Africa and Latin America

to the cause of world peace and the defence of women's and children's rights. This document does not point to the path of genuine peace, nor to the path of happiness for women and children.

On the question of defending peace and of disarmament, this document also overlooks the significance of joint struggle by various peace forces. Instead of directing the spearhead of struggle against imperialism, its armament drive and war preparation and its preparation to unleash nuclear war, the document merely indulges in empty talk about disarmament and spreads unrealistic illusions.

We hold that the adoption of such a document is not conducive to uniting and mobilizing the broadest possible masses of people and women of the world to wage a struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. Nor does it help the cause of women's emancipation. Those who attempt to impose this erroneous line on others are deliberately creating a split and disrupting the unity of the women of the world.

At this World Women's Congress held in Moscow, some people have been brandishing their baton, trying their utmost to enforce in the world women's movement their own line of not opposing imperialism and forbidding others to oppose it. These people have also taken advantage of the congress to carry out anti-China manoeuvres. They violate the democratic principles of international conferences, put the congress under their control and manipulation, and restrict and deprive Chinese delegates of the right to speak. They have been assailing the Chinese Women's Delegation by name or by insinuation and maliciously spreading all kinds of slanderous stories about the Chinese delegation and the Chinese

people and distorting their views. Their purpose is to hit at the steadfast anti-imperialist stand of the Chinese people and women in a premeditated attempt to disrupt and split unity in the world women's movement. This exposes once again the ugly features of those serving imperialism.

We of the Chinese Women's Delegation have come to this congress with a solemn sense of duty towards defending world peace and upholding the fundamental interests of the people and women of the world. We are firmly against adopting this document which does not conform to the fundamental interests of the people and women of the world. We are convinced that despite any counter-current the stormy sweep of anti-imperialist revolutions of the peoples of the world cannot be checked by any force and that the unity of the women of the world cannot be destroyed. The Chinese women will, together with women of the whole world, continue to carry to the very end the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace and to maintain the correct line of the world women's movement.

REPORT ON THE MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN

**DELIVERED BY YANG YUN-YU, LEADER OF THE CHINESE
WOMEN'S DELEGATION, ON JULY 18, 1963 AT A PEKING
MASS RALLY WELCOMING HOME THE CHINESE
DELEGATION**

Comrades:

On behalf of Chinese women throughout the country, we, the Chinese Women's Delegation, participated in the World Congress of Women held in Moscow with a full sense of the heavy responsibility of defending world peace and upholding the fundamental interests of women and the people and with the sincere desire of strengthening the unity of the women of all countries.

As a result of manipulation by N.V. Popova, leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and Vice-President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, and by some other leaders of the W.I.D.F., the congress made a very bad showing.

The congress lasted six days from June 24 to 29. It was announced that 1,289 delegates and 136 observers from 113 countries participated in the congress; there were also 116 guests. Apart from the five congress reports and the speeches made during its sessions, six commissions — to deal with the general document, peace and disarmament, national independence, the rights of women, children's questions and the Programme for the Activ-

ities of the W.I.D.F. — were set up to draft the relevant documents and submit proposals. An "Appeal to the Women of the World" devoid of revolutionary content was imposed on the congress; an opportunist Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F. was forced through at a meeting of national organizations of the W.I.D.F. held during the congress and a new Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. was elected by the most undemocratic methods. Prior to the congress, the W.I.D.F. held Executive Bureau and Council meetings.

The congress was convened on the eve of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and at a time when the Kennedy Administration, under the smoke-screen of "peace," is actively engaged in an arms drive and war preparations and is stepping up the big conspiracy of its "strategy of peace." Women throughout the world expected that the congress would carry forward the revolutionary traditions of anti-imperialism and democracy of the W.I.D.F., that it would make positive contributions to the unity of all the women of the world, and to the strengthening of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for world peace, and to the cause of winning and safeguarding the rights of women and children. But most disappointingly the congress ran completely counter to the aspirations and fundamental interests of the women and people of the world. The two documents forced through the congress are extremely harmful to the world women's movement; they destroyed the essence of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist tasks of the movement and tampered with its revolutionary and progressive line. The organizers of the congress, bowing to the will of the imperialists and particularly Kennedy, the common enemy of the people of

the world, and flouting the aspirations of the masses of women in Asia, Africa and Latin America, imposed their wrong political line on the congress and enforced that line by means of a wrong organizational line. They pursued a pro-U.S., and anti-China and pro-Indian reactionaries and anti-socialist China line. They carefully planned an anti-China chorus. They engaged in a series of sectarian and splitting activities, rudely trampled underfoot the democratic principles of the W.I.D.F. and undermined the unity of the world women's movement. It was the most disgraceful and most undemocratic congress in the history of the W.I.D.F. It gave a profound lesson by negative example to the women and people of the world.

It was not an accident that this distressing situation should have arisen at the congress. We have to point out that this resulted from the fact that certain leaders of the W.I.D.F. have for a long time separated themselves from the basic demands of women in various countries, and particularly from the fact that the leader of the Soviet women's movement waved batons in the W.I.D.F. to enforce their erroneous line. Certain Soviet comrades have reduced the general line of the foreign policy of socialist countries to the single aspect of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition, and oppose the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries to the struggle for world peace. Moreover, disregarding the demands of the masses represented by the W.I.D.F. to oppose imperialism and colonialism and to strive for and safeguard national independence, they imposed their own will on the W.I.D.F., thus turning this organization into an instrument serving one country's foreign policy. In these circumstances, serious differences of principle arose

on the question of the line of the W.I.D.F. To sum up: these differences relate to whether imperialism is to be opposed or not; whether or not disarmament and peaceful coexistence are to be taken as the overriding central task; whether the national-independence movement is to be supported or not; whether or not it should one-sidedly serve the needs of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union; and whether principles are to be abandoned for the sake of broad unity with people of all social strata. The efforts made by the Soviet comrades to carry through their erroneous line in the W.I.D.F. have on many occasions met with resistance. They have used all kinds of despicable means to attain their purposes and this was developed to a new height at the congress.

In face of this situation, the Chinese Women's Delegation could not but come forward. In accordance with the policy of "persevering in principle, strengthening unity, eliminating differences and waging a common struggle against the enemy," the Chinese delegation, together with the delegations from Albania, Korea, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Japan and many other Asian, African and Latin American countries, held high the revolutionary banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism, old and new, of winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace, and waged a resolute struggle against the handful of people who insisted on an erroneous line; this it did in order to safeguard the fundamental interests of the broad masses of women and children, to uphold the correct line of the world women's movement and the revolutionary traditions and democratic principles of the W.I.D.F. Although the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. were outrageously rude to the Chinese delega-

tion and took a series of hostile actions against it, we, on our part, still treasured unity, and the fundamental interests of the people and women of the world, exercised the utmost patience and restraint, expounded our own correct position and proposals, criticized and exposed their mistakes, and condemned their schemes to oppose and isolate China, and strengthened unity with the delegates of the various countries. This upright, fair and reasonable attitude of the Chinese delegation had won wide sympathy and support among the delegates of the various countries.

This struggle is absolutely necessary. It is not only a struggle to uphold the basic interests of women and children; it is also a struggle connected with the cause of strengthening the unity of the world's people, opposing imperialism and defending world peace.

Let me now tell you something about the course of this grave struggle.

The struggle between two lines ran through the congress from first to last. This was shown most clearly in regard to the following questions.

1. Concerning the problem as to whether imperialism, and first of all, U.S. imperialism, is to be opposed or not. Struggle against imperialism is not only the common demand of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples but also the demand of the peoples in the capitalist countries in Europe and North America. It is only natural that the W.I.D.F., reflecting the demand of the progressive women of the whole world, should call upon and lead the masses of women in waging struggles against imperialism. However, the most astonishing thing is that differences occurred even on this question which is a matter of common sense. **The leader of the Soviet**

Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. not only refrained from condemning imperialism but instead did their utmost to prettify imperialism in their speeches. Madame Eugenie Cotton, President of the W.I.D.F., said openly: "And should we not rejoice . . . at the will for peace expressed by the American people and which is conveyed in the speech President Kennedy has just made at the graduation ceremony of the Washington University? [Should be American University — Tr.] In that speech he recognized the necessity for peaceful co-existence." She added: "Isn't it encouraging that the two great nuclear powers and Great Britain have agreed to attempt, during a meeting to be held in Moscow next July, to conclude a treaty for the total ban of nuclear tests?" Dolores Ibarruri, Honorary Vice-President of the W.I.D.F. and President of the Spanish Communist Party, went so far as to pin her hopes on Mrs. Kennedy. She said ingratiatingly: "Yes. We intend to come to an understanding even with Mrs. Kennedy with regard to the question of the struggle for peace, if Mrs. Kennedy, who is also a mother, should express readiness to cooperate with the women of the whole world in the cause of defending the lives of their children from the menace of war and death."

It is truly astonishing that leaders of the W.I.D.F. should have made such speeches in which the revolutionary stand is missing.

These people do not oppose imperialism themselves, nor do they allow others to do so. They attempted by every possible means to weaken the anti-imperialist content of the congress reports and documents and strike out from these documents words about opposition to im-

perialism. They are as scared of references to opposition to imperialism as a child is of monsters.

The original draft of the report on peace and disarmament made by the Japanese delegate for submission to the congress devoted a great deal of space to exposure of the criminal acts of U.S. imperialism. The whole report was permeated with the central idea of the need to oppose imperialist policies of war and aggression; it was originally a good report reflecting the basic demands of women throughout the world. But N. V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, and certain leaders of the W.I.D.F. were from first to last hostile to this report and determined to reject it. They racked their brains to tamper with it. At the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. held prior to the opening of the congress, they repeatedly exerted pressure and forced the Japanese delegate to make revisions. They said that too many references to "imperialism" were too irritating. They could not even tolerate the statement that U.S. imperialism was the enemy of peace and insisted on striking it out of the documents. **Yvonne Dumont, the General Secretary of the Union of French Women, even made the fallacious statement that if imperialism was said to be the enemy of peace, women would be alienated and the forces of peace weakened, which would be favourable to imperialism.** They used every despicable method to force the Japanese delegate to yield ground; they even accused her of imposing the line of the minority on the congress.

Similar things happened in regard to the report drafted by the Cuban delegate for submission to the congress on the question of health, upbringing and education of children and youth. In this report the Cuban delegate

censured imperialism headed by the United States and colonialism, old and new, for the sufferings they brought to children and young people, and pointed out that for their happiness imperialism must be opposed. N. V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, and certain leaders of the W.I.D.F. showed extreme alarm and worry over the report and one of them went so far as to say that the report "is an atomic bomb," and must be drastically revised. The original report contained more than 30 pages, but it was forcibly cut by more than ten pages, and almost all passages revealing the U.S. imperialist crimes of aggression and plunder were deleted. However, this did not satisfy them. In discussing the revised version, Vaillant-Couturier, Vice-President of the W.I.D.F. and Member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, suddenly held it up, saying that there were typing errors and the version must be further revised. The fact was that what they wanted was not to correct the technical errors of typing but to cut out that part exposing the colonialist and imperialist powers' use of Africans as slaves, about Algeria waging seven years of bloody struggle and the workers and peasants in the capitalist countries being the cheapest of commodities for the imperialists. This is the way they protect and serve the imperialists!

Popova and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. not only misused the powers entrusted to them by the women of the countries represented at the congress and emasculated the anti-imperialist content of these documents, but also manufactured extremely mistaken documents according to their own ideas, which ran counter to the interests of the masses of women. Two such products are the **"Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F."**

whose adoption was forced through at the meeting of the national organizations of the W.I.D.F. and the "Appeal to the Women of the World" adopted at the congress. These two documents fail to point out that imperialism headed by the United States is the enemy of peace and the source of war. They fail to point out that an important cause of the sufferings of women and children lies in imperialism. These two documents simply contain meaningless cries about the rights of women and children, friendship and unity. Unhealthy sentiments were spread among the masses of women, as well as all kinds of illusions and the horrors of war and nuclear weapons. These documents certainly do not bring any good to the world women's movement; they merely benefit imperialism. They are bound to be rejected by the broad masses of women of all lands.

In complete contrast to the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., many delegates from the Asian, African and Latin American countries and from the capitalist countries in Europe and North America expressed the view that it is essential to oppose imperialism resolutely in order to safeguard the interests of the women and children of the world. The Japanese and Cuban delegates were subjected to great pressure in the course of revising the reports they drafted. But the Japanese delegate, in her speech at the congress, nevertheless condemned the U.S. imperialist crimes in forcing ahead the arms drive and war preparations and in setting up military bases, and the Cuban delegate continued to hold aloft the banner of the Second Havana Declaration. Delegates from the African countries just freed from imperialist and colonialist rule and fighting a life-and-death struggle against

imperialism and colonialism, also strongly expressed the same views. The delegate from Comoro said that after more than 100 years of imperialist rule, the people of her country lived in the utmost misery and that they could not continue to live unless imperialism were thrown out. The Chinese delegation, together with the delegations from Albania, Korea, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Laos, Zanzibar, Southwest Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Venezuela, in the speeches at the general and group meetings and in their written statements, repeatedly and clearly expounded the principled stand and attitude that struggles must be waged against imperialism. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. could do nothing to refute the just stand and attitude against imperialism taken by large numbers of delegates. But they were determined to go their own way and acted truculently in order to put into effect their erroneous line of seeking a compromise with imperialism. The diehard and extremely wrong attitude they took is bound to be condemned by history and life.

2. On the question of how to realize the demand of the broad sections of women to check imperialist wars of aggression and defend world peace. Differences of principle also arose on this question. In the opinion of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., in order to check imperialist wars of aggression and defend world peace, there is no need to expose the enemy of peace and to rely on the struggles of the peoples in various countries and the national-liberation movement. In their view, war can be avoided and world peace ensured only if the leaders of a few big powers can reach a certain understanding on

international issues, only if the charity of Kennedy and his like is aroused and only if the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples coexist with imperialism in complete obedience and make no trouble.

Starting from this point, **they did their best to play up the role of the heads of the big powers.** In her report **Madame Cotton** said: **"Our congress opens in auspicious circumstances since the problem closest to women's hearts, that of peace, has become the chief concern of the heads of government of the greatest nuclear powers."** An Italian delegate even said: **"Some great men such as the Pope, the Soviet Premier and President Kennedy have issued statements of peace and showed a great sense of responsibility."**

They tried their utmost to clothe the wolf in a sheep skin, and paint Kennedy, chieftain of imperialism, as an angel of peace. We frequently heard nauseating praises of Kennedy.

They tried to scare people by making alarming and sensational statements about war and nuclear weapons in an attempt to blunt the vigour of the people's struggle and tie their hands. **Madame Cotton** said, **". . . and now there are bombs millions of times more powerful than those of Hiroshima . . . which can make whole continents disappear."** **N.V. Popova** of the Soviet Union said in her opening speech: **"In our time, the peoples are menaced by the threat of a destructive atomic war, which — should it break out — will not leave untouched any region of the world. . . ."** **Madame Vermeersch**, Vice-President of the Union of French Women and the wife of **Thorez**, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, declared, **"It's indeed war that we women are**

afraid of," and added, **"we gather here with fear and hope," "it is a question of either peace or death."**

Delegates of many countries adopted a stand which was completely opposed to that of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. on the question of how to check imperialist wars and defend world peace. The Chinese delegates and those of many other countries unequivocally expressed their ardent love for peace and at the same time pointed out that in order to prevent imperialist wars of aggression and defend world peace it was necessary to expose widely and profoundly the enemy of peace — imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, to rely on the struggles of the broad masses of the people, to support the liberation movements of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and to combat resolutely those forces which, with their ulterior motives, try to benumb the fighting spirit of the people and to obstruct their struggle. **The delegates of many countries, especially those from Asia, Africa and Latin America, sharply repudiated the erroneous arguments in this respect advanced by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F.** However hard the organizers of the congress tried to repress them, many delegates boldly and indignantly tore off the peace camouflage of U.S. imperialism and expressed their just stand of defending peace through struggle. **The Zanzibar delegate** said: **"We must unite and wage a resolute struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. Of course, some will have to sacrifice their lives in the struggle, but this cannot intimidate us. We would rather die while standing than live fawning like a dog."** **The Venezuelan delegate** said: **"No matter**

how much blood we shall have to shed, we shall fight on until victory is won."

In this principled struggle, the Chinese delegation, together with the various other delegations opposing the erroneous line, from first to last took a firm stand and an unequivocal attitude, exerted its utmost efforts and made its own contributions, and at the same time, won widespread sympathy and respect.

3. **The question whether general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence are the overriding tasks of the women's movement.** This was the most hotly debated point. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. had worked deliberately to make disarmament and peaceful coexistence the central and overriding tasks of the international women's movement. They practically described disarmament and peaceful coexistence as a sovereign remedy to save the world. The Soviet delegate said: "General and complete disarmament is an extremely important precondition for enduring peace." The French delegate said: "Disarmament and peace are the questions of primary importance in our time." She spoke of "general and complete disarmament which alone is efficacious because it makes provision for all controls." They also attempted to deceive others by saying that once disarmament is realized national independence and the happiness of women and children are assured. Madame Cotton declared that "disarmament would serve as a guarantee of independence of all peoples" and "it would make it possible to use all the wealth of the world for the good of mankind. As a result of disarmament the powers could save 3,000,000 million dollars in 25 years. This is precisely the value of all wealth accumulated

throughout the world by mankind in the course of thousands of years." Someone even alleged that general and complete disarmament was "the only way out." The Yugoslav delegate claimed that "positive coexistence" was the "overriding question" now facing the women's movement and that "the only alternative to war is to strive for positive coexistence." Some others alleged: "Only in conditions of peace and only when the peaceful coexistence of countries having different social systems becomes a reality, can the struggle for women's rights in the capitalist countries and the women's struggle for emancipation in the colonies and in countries newly freed from colonial oppression proceed smoothly."

The congress "Appeal to the Women of the World" and the "Programme for the Activities of the W.I.D.F.," concocted solely by the leader of the Soviet delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., are permeated by the idea that general and complete disarmament and peaceful coexistence are the overriding tasks.

This absurd viewpoint evoked strong opposition from the delegations of China, Albania, Korea, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Japan and many other Asian, African and Latin American countries. The Korean delegate solemnly pointed out: "It will only harm the struggle for national liberation to preach that disarmament is the task of primary importance for the oppressed peoples who are now waging struggles and at the same time to insist that if we ensure peaceful coexistence and realize disarmament this will naturally bring national independence with it. We must never beg imperialism for independence, freedom and peace; we must win them through struggle." The Indonesian delegate said: "We believe that the demand for disarmament cannot be easily realized

because it meets with strong opposition from imperialism. We maintain therefore that there is a pressing need to launch an unrelenting struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism, a struggle in which women must take an active part." The Japanese delegate said: "Imperialism, while paying lip-service to peace and disarmament, is actually pursuing a dual policy; it is carrying on aggressive wars and an arms race. Therefore, the women of the whole world must have enough vigilance not to be fascinated by fine words." The Zanzibar delegate declared: "We should not allow ourselves to be fooled by the imperialist 'policy of peace.' Imperialism will never disarm voluntarily. . . . To hope that imperialism will disarm is like expecting a man-eating tiger to go to a dentist to have its fangs removed."

Delegates from many countries strongly refuted the preposterous arguments of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. who arbitrarily extended the concept of peaceful coexistence to include relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed countries and oppressor countries and between oppressed classes and oppressor classes. The delegate from Southwest Africa said: "Don't endlessly and enthusiastically preach so-called peaceful coexistence with imperialism at the expense of us, the suffering peoples of various countries." Some other delegates said: "Many of our friends at home are either in jail or have been sacrificed. How could we 'coexist peacefully' with imperialism? Is it not a betrayal of the motherland if we agree with their line of disarmament and peaceful coexistence?"

4. On the question of how to treat the national-liberation movement of the oppressed nations. At the

congress, certain persons erroneously opposed the national-liberation movement to the struggle for the defence of world peace, and divorced it from the movement for the emancipation of women.

They paid lavish lip-service to support of the national-independence movement, but their deeds proved just the opposite. While the congress was in session, the delegations from Laos, south Viet Nam, Korea, Venezuela, Southwest Africa and other countries, which are struggling heroically against imperialism, repeatedly appealed to the congress to adopt separate resolutions in support of their peoples' struggles for liberation. Those who ran the congress turned a deaf ear to these appeals and thus completely exposed themselves as hypocrites whose actions do not tally with their words.

Their erroneous views were severely and justly refuted by the delegates from China and other countries. The Albanian delegate pointed out: "The national-liberation wars waged by the enslaved people are anti-imperialist wars which deal imperialism powerful blows, undermining its foundations and weakening its strength. Such wars are favourable to peace." She added: "Any action to oppose the national-liberation wars to the struggle in defence of peace, any action to hinder these wars under various pretexts, not only do not conform with the vital interests of the peoples who are struggling to rid themselves of imperialism, but will also bring great damage to the cause of safeguarding peace and international security." The Korean delegate pointed out the correct path for the struggle for national independence. She said: "Only by launching attacks against the imperialists from various sides and by tying their hands with all kinds of methods of struggles, can we win national

independence and liberation, the rights of women and the happy future of the younger generations, and the victory of the great cause of lasting world peace." The delegate from Laos said: Our historical experience has taught us that to defend national independence we must wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism. We are deeply aware that only after the attainment of national independence can the rights of women and the happiness of children be thoroughly realized. Women's emancipation must be linked with the struggle for national liberation. Many delegates complained during the recess: It seems that they have forgotten their past struggles against imperialism. Now that they have become rich, they don't care about the sufferings and sacrifices others are experiencing under imperialist oppression.

The activities of the leader of the Soviet delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. in doing their utmost to negate the national-independence movement have not only alienated them from the progressive women of the world, and particularly from the broad masses of Asian, African and Latin American women who are in the storm of the national-liberation struggle, but have also led to the weakness which is being shown in the women's emancipation movement under the influence of the W.I.D.F.

5. **The question of whether or not the women's movement can be separated from the current, common struggle of the broad masses. Certain persons did all they could to vulgarize the lofty feelings and sentiments of women and mothers. Dolores Ibarruri talked glibly at the congress about charming womanhood and women's moral beauty. Some persons talked much about women who "grieve in fear of war." In its proposal to the**

W.I.D.F., the Union of French Women said: "Mother love is the basis of women's unity." Some persons confined women's function to motherhood, giving birth to and looking after children. On the surface, these views seemed to take no notice of politics, but they actually involved a very big political question. Their aim was to exclude women from political life. If these views were accepted, women would never win complete emancipation. The broad masses of women must on no account allow themselves to be pushed around at will by others. No one can cut them off from the current struggle of the broad masses of the people. The erroneous views expressed were refuted by an African delegate in her speech. She said: "It is impossible to oppose imperialism without the participation of women. Many African women are waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence."

From what has been said above, it is clear to us that the struggle between two lines was extremely sharp and acute at the World Congress of Women. Our Party and country have persevered in the correct line of anti-imperialism and revolution in the international struggle; the Chinese Women's Delegation at the congress energetically defended the correct line of the international women's movement. As a result, we incurred the bitter hatred of those who persisted in the erroneous line. **Marshalling all elements hostile to China, they staged one anti-China farce after another. They deliberately blockaded and attacked the Chinese delegation; they spread rumours and slanders inside and outside the congress hall, vilifying the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people. What warrants special mention is that the Indian delegate at the instigation of the organiz-**

ers of the congress launched unbridled attacks against China on the morning of June 26 by raising at the congress the Sino-Indian boundary question, something which had nothing to do with the theme of the congress.

As early as March this year, at the Berlin meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F., the Soviet delegate Popova openly supported the Indian delegate's demand that the Bureau pass a resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question. But this failed because of our resolute opposition. Before this congress, in her letter to the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F., the Indian delegate once again distorted the truth about the Sino-Indian boundary question, slandered China as having committed aggression against India and submitted a draft resolution. The Chinese delegate at that time strongly refuted this and resolutely expressed her disagreement to raising at the women's congress a boundary question between two Asian countries. The Chinese delegate also informed Carmen Zanti of Italy, General Secretary of the W.I.D.F., that if the Indian delegate were allowed to attack China at the congress, the Chinese delegate should have the right to reply. In her reply, Carmen Zanti went so far as to say that if we no longer persisted in our views on the question of the line of the women's movement, then consideration might also be given to refraining from passing any resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This meant a demand that the Chinese delegate should barter away principles. How shameful this was! Of course, we had no alternative but to reject this demand categorically and strongly refute it. It was under these circumstances that the Indian delegate's scheme to use the rostrum of the World Congress of Women to attack China was eventually

realized with the support of the organizers of the congress.

In her speech at the congress on June 26, the Indian delegate mainly repeated the shop-worn arguments of Nehru, demanding that China should first accept *in toto* the Colombo proposals with India's own interpretations attached. She thanked the Soviet Union for the sympathy and support it gave to India at what she called the "most critical moment," and declared that this had encouraged the Indian women. Obviously, this speech had been carefully planned. But for the planned arrangements and energetic support given by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., the Indian delegate's attacks against China could never have erupted at the World Congress of Women held in Moscow. **It is not difficult for clear-sighted people to see what inglorious a role the leader of the Soviet delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. played in the anti-China chorus.**

As the Indian delegate was using the rostrum of the World Congress of Women for an open attack on China, the Chinese delegation, according to the procedure, immediately asked the executive chairman for the floor. **When the Indian delegate concluded her speech, Kuo Chien, deputy leader of the Chinese delegation, went to the rostrum, preparing to speak. But the executive chairman rudely stopped her, rang the bell and declared the session adjourned. At this moment, the loudspeakers were disconnected and then the lights were switched off. Many delegates were indignant at this farce in which the democratic principles and normal practice observed in such international conferences were violated by allowing the Indian delegate to attack China but forbidding the**

Chinese delegate to reply. Despite the chairman's announcement of adjournment, crowds stayed at the conference hall for a long time. The leader and deputy leader of the Japanese delegation mounted the rostrum to protest against forbidding the Chinese delegate to speak. Afterwards, the delegates from Albania, Korea and Indonesia respectively sent written protests to the congress. Delegates from 18 Asian and African countries, including Korea, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Mozambique and Kenya, signed a joint demand that the Indian delegate withdraw that part of her speech concerning the Sino-Indian boundary question and that the congress respect the right of the Chinese delegate to reply.

On June 29, the last day of the congress, the executive chairman suddenly announced before the adjournment in the morning that the Chinese delegate was given three minutes to speak. In her reply to the Indian delegate's speech, the Chinese delegate pointed out its deceitful nature, expressed the Chinese people's desire to live in friendship with the Indian people for generations to come and at the same time solemnly denounced certain persons for using the rostrum of the World Congress of Women to engage in anti-China activities. But the Chinese delegate's speech was again arbitrarily interrupted by the executive chairman and immediate arrangements were made at the congress for the Indian delegate to make another speech against China. The Chinese delegation and the women and other people of China cannot but feel distressed and regretful that such flagrant anti-China activities should have taken place at the World Congress of Women held in Moscow.

The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. cannot harm us in the least by striking up an anti-China chorus in Moscow. On the contrary, it has exposed them before the people of the world. No matter what pains they have taken to isolate China, sympathy is with the Chinese delegation. Seeing with their own eyes the two anti-China farces on June 26 and 29, many delegations voiced their indignation. The Korean delegation in its statement said: "It expressed its surprise at the use of the congress as a rostrum for an anti-China campaign. Some members of the executive body of the congress not only gave the Indian delegate permission to raise provocatively the Sino-Indian boundary question which should not be discussed by the World Congress of Women, and to deliver a speech to slander and damage the People's Republic of China, but also even came openly to their defence. But the Chinese women's delegate who asked for the floor to answer the slanders of the Indian delegate was subjected to attacks and forbidden to speak." Madame Umi Sardjono, leader of the Indonesian delegation, said in her statement: "I must express our great regret that such an event should have taken place at the World Congress of Women held in Moscow. We hope that there will be no repetition of such events." Several African delegates told the Chinese delegation that the effort to harm the Chinese delegates was tantamount to harming them too. A U.S. delegate also told us that she had felt sick at heart the day the chairman rang the bell and forbade the Chinese delegate to speak. She had never imagined that women could be so rude to women. Precisely because sympathy was on the side of China, the directors of the anti-China chorus, although they could instigate the Indian delegate to attack China, dared not

after all put before the congress their previously prepared draft resolution which favoured India against China. This showed that they themselves knew that such things could not bear the light of day.

An acute and bitter struggle took place at the World Congress of Women not only on the question of its political line but also on the question of its organizational line. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F., in order to carry out their erroneous political line, must inevitably pursue a completely wrong organizational line, one of sectarianism, splittism and great-power chauvinism. I will now deal with specific problems in regard to this.

1. The leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. completely ignored the broad masses of women of the world. They do not want to orient the activities of the W.I.D.F. towards the broad masses of the women of the world. They are only too eager to fall in with the wishes of a small group of women of the upper social strata in the European and North American capitalist countries and make compromises with them, confining the activities of the W.I.D.F. within this small circle of women of the upper social strata, and turning the W.I.D.F. into their "club."

The various continents were represented at the congress very disproportionately and the rights enjoyed by the delegates from small countries and by those from big countries were far from equal. Of the 1,289 delegates who attended the congress, nearly 700 came from 27 European countries, more than 100 came from the United States and Canada, and 115 from the German Democratic Republic, West Germany and West Berlin, while less than 100 came from 34 African countries and less than

250 from 23 Asian countries. The total number of delegates from Asia, Africa and Latin America was less than that from the European countries. In her opening speech, N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, boasted that the congress is "the most representative assembly in the history of the international co-operation of women." But, what kind of "representative" was it, pray?

Such a situation, it must be pointed out, was brought about deliberately by the leader of the Soviet Women's Committee which was host to the congress. Early in April this year, they had already formed the "Soviet Committee to Assist the Preparation and Convening of the World Congress of Women." To ensure that their erroneous line would get majority support from participating delegates, the leader of the Soviet Women's Committee ignored some member organizations of the W.I.D.F. and arbitrarily invited people whom they deemed "suitable" and gave them plane tickets. They placed various obstacles in the way of a number of women delegates of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that these countries were unable to send bigger delegations to the congress. This way of doing things caused many delegates to be dissatisfied; one British woman delegate had this to say: Most of those invited by the congress are women of the middle and upper social strata while working women do not have the chance to attend. They just do not have the money to come as tourists at their own expense. Our Soviet friends talk all day long about what they call the well-known figures; people are tired of hearing that.

In view of the unfairness of the fact that most delegates to the congress came from the European and North American countries while there were relatively fewer

delegates from Asian, African and Latin American countries, the Chinese delegation and delegates from many other countries put forward the proposal that in accordance with the principle of equality among big and small nations, the system of one country one vote, or a limited number of votes, be followed when the documents of the congress were voted on. They objected to the voting method proposed by the W.I.D.F. that the system of one country one vote be followed in adopting the programme while the system of one delegate one vote be followed for the adoption of congress documents. A heated argument about this occurred at the meeting of the heads of delegations. The manipulators of the congress asserted that the meeting of the heads of delegations was not entitled to make any decision and shifted the question to the presidium for further discussion. However, no meeting of the presidium was ever called. As a result, when the "Appeal to the Women of the World" was put to the vote, it was still a mystery as to how the votes were counted.

2. Throughout the congress, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other W.I.D.F. leaders, in order to push through their erroneous political line, adopted the most undemocratic practices in imposing their views on others. They manipulated the congress and wantonly suppressed those holding a correct view by violating the most elementary democratic principles to be observed in an international democratic organization, by trampling under foot the most elementary democratic rights of the delegates of various countries and by resorting to all kinds of the crudest means. Their way of doing this has set the worst possible precedents for international democratic organizations.

Madame Cotton's report was made on behalf of the W.I.D.F., it involved the line and orientation of the W.I.D.F. An important report like this should have been fully discussed at meetings of the Executive Bureau and the Council of the W.I.D.F. and approved by them before being submitted to the congress. But disregarding the democratic principles of international mass organizations, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. actually refused to allow the Executive Bureau and Council of the W.I.D.F. to discuss the report. When the delegations of China and other countries asked for a discussion on it, some person even declared that daughters could not discuss their mamma's report. It was said that discussion meant distrust of her and lack of respect for her. Some persons even fooled the delegates by saying that the report was not a general report but one on ordinary activities. So, they claimed, there was no need for discussion. As a result, Madame Cotton's report was delivered to the congress without being discussed by the W.I.D.F. Executive Bureau and Council. Madame Cotton moreover announced that this report represented the line of the W.I.D.F. And this was how this so-called line of the W.I.D.F. was imposed on the women of various countries without being discussed in any way.

Employing their artificial majority, the leader of the Soviet delegation and certain other W.I.D.F. leaders time and again put their voting machine into operation. What was even more outrageous was that they accepted the voting when it turned out to be favourable to them, but when the voting was unfavourable to them, they found fault with everything and had the matter put to vote again so that they could get what they wanted. The Ex-

ecutive Bureau meeting held before the congress discussed four other reports to be submitted to the congress; they were: the report on peace and disarmament to be given by a Japanese delegate, the report on national independence by a Mali delegate, the report on children by a Cuban delegate and the report on women's rights by an Italian delegate. The original draft of the first three reports was good; they exposed the criminal deeds of imperialism and raised the question of fighting against imperialism and new and old colonialism. This was apparently not to the liking of the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. who tried a thousand and one ways to take out the anti-imperialist contents of these reports and replaced it with a content making complete and general disarmament the task transcending all others. But they failed to revise the report on national independence to be given by the Mali delegate. In regard to the reports to be made by the Japanese and Cuban delegates, as I have told you earlier, they hung on like grim death bringing pressure to bear on the Japanese and Cuban delegates and insisting that they revise their reports; they also insisted on forming a group to revise these two reports arbitrarily. And when the Japanese and Cuban delegates refused to listen to this tall order they threatened to allow these two reports to be given only in the name of individuals. Then when the Executive Bureau approved the proposal that these two reports should be made in the name of individuals, the manipulators, thinking that this was more to their disadvantage, then declared that the voting at the Executive Bureau was null and void and once again started operating their voting machine demanding that the Japanese and Cuban delegates revise the reports in the way

they wanted and that the revised reports would then be submitted to the congress in the name of the Executive Bureau.

The session of the Council should have lasted a day, according to the published timetable. But in fact the session came hastily to an end after a little over an hour. The Council members were not permitted to discuss major problems of the congress, thus depriving the Council of its functions and powers. The congress set up a presidium, but it did not meet once. The executive chairmen of the congress and the chairmen of the commissions were appointed by the so-called secretariat of the congress. Except for the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F., nobody knew how the secretariat was formed, who were its members and what powers it had. On the question of documents of the congress it happened that, without discussion by the presidium of the congress, a few people, using the name of the Executive Bureau, announced that the congress would produce only one general document. All the documents and resolutions adopted at commissions were regarded by them as proposals, not official documents of the congress.

The draft programme submitted by the W.I.D.F. for discussion by its national organizations is a document which does not oppose imperialism and which follows an erroneous line. The National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China seriously and carefully studied that draft programme and put forward its proposals. Delegates from Albania, Korea, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Japan and other countries also put forward their proposals. But Carmen Zanti of Italy, self-appointed chairman of the programme commission, simply paid

no attention to these proposals of principle at all. At the meeting of the delegates of W.I.D.F.'s national organizations the voting machine was put into action and the result was that four delegations, namely, China, Albania, Korea and Indonesia, voted against and four delegations, namely, Viet Nam, south Viet Nam, Laos and Japan abstained — those who voted against and those who abstained constituted one-sixth of all national organizations taking part in the voting. The membership of these eight countries makes up more than 70 per cent of the total membership of the W.I.D.F. which is 200 million.

The "Appeal to the Women of the World" is the only document issued in the name of the congress. It should have been fully discussed by all participating delegates. But the fact was that the draft of this document was discussed only once in the commission for drafting the general document, and the final version was not only never discussed in the commission, but was not even seen by delegates of many countries before it was put to the vote in the congress. At the closing ceremony of the congress, its manipulators resorted to the tactics of a blitzkrieg: Madame Cotton read out the "appeal," then delegates from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic took the lead in standing up, then a team to give the cheers in the "visitors' galleries" hip, hip, hip hurrahed and clapped their hands for about as long as 20 minutes. None of the members of the Chinese Women's Delegation either stood up or applauded, but kept to their seats with great presence of mind. When they arbitrarily put the document to the vote, the Chinese, Albanian and Korean delegations voted against, and the Vietnamese delegation abstained. The dele-

gates of south Viet Nam and a number of other delegates did not take part in the voting at all.

At the congress sessions and commissions, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. applied the regulations of the congress as they saw fit, treating different people differently. Those who were to their liking were not restricted in their speeches. It was stipulated at the congress that every nation should have only one delegate speaking at the plenary session and no speech must exceed ten minutes. But there was a delegate who spoke for thirty minutes without being stopped by the chairman while some people were free to take the floor again and again without going through any formalities. The Soviet Union spoke on five occasions in various ways at the plenary session and four of her speeches were lengthy ones. Dolores Ibarruri of Spain spoke on two occasions. The speeches of those not to their liking were interrupted, obstructed and restricted in a hundred and one ways. As I just told you a moment ago, the Indian delegate who attacked China at the congress was subjected to no restrictions of any kind, but when the Chinese delegation asked for the floor to answer the Indian delegate's attacks, the executive chairman of the congress used every means to prevent us from speaking. After the "Appeal to the Women of the World" was forced through the congress, the Chinese delegate read to the congress a statement of the Chinese delegation concerning this "appeal." At this moment, Madame Maddalena Rossi of Italy, the executive chairman of the congress, rudely interfered with the speech of the Chinese delegation and finally went so far as to break it up. Immediately following this, Dolores Ibar-

ruri, ignoring all procedure, hurried up to the platform to make a speech attacking China. Not only was her speech not restricted at all but it was backed by the cheering squad organized by the manipulators of the congress. The Albanian and Korean delegates asked to present their views at the congress on the "Appeal to the Women of the World," but the executive chairman of the congress illegally deprived them of their right to speak, on the pretext that Ibarruri had already wound up discussion on this matter.

When the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F. was being re-elected, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. adopted the most disgraceful means to manipulate and control the election so as to prevent those who disagreed with their line from being elected to the Bureau. They unilaterally announced that the former Bureau members would remain unchanged and only several new members would be added. Korea nominated Viet Nam and China nominated Korea as new Bureau members and the nominations were seconded by quite a few countries. But these properly made and seconded motions were completely ignored by the executive chairman who refused to put them to the vote. This evoked the dissatisfaction of many delegates; even some delegates from Denmark and Belgium thought it unfair that things were done in this most undemocratic way and expressed their indignation.

N. V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, bragged at the Moscow meeting of women activists on July 8 that at the Moscow Congress of Women "freedom to exchange opinions was fully assured," "everyone spoke out freely, stated their position, their

thoughts, hopes and aspirations." This was a monstrous lie deceiving herself as well as others.

Moreover, **the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., in order to control the congress and the delegations of all countries, besides trampling on the principles of democracy, also adopted other vile methods.** We will take this opportunity to tell you about it.

The host of the congress made careful arrangements for the accommodation of the various delegations. The delegations of most countries were accommodated in one hotel, the Albanian delegation was placed in another, and the delegations of Korea and Viet Nam in a third. The Chinese delegation, greatly honoured by the special concern given by the host, was accommodated in the most luxurious Soviet Hotel; this arrangement was made on purpose. Apart from the members of the Executive Bureau of the W.I.D.F., there was only the Chinese delegation in this hotel. So the Chinese delegation was walled in and found it very hard to have any contact with other delegations. It was also arranged that we should have our meals all alone in a separate hall. Once three members of the Chinese delegation went to the hotel where most of the delegations lived, but the management of the hotel dining-room simply did not let them eat there on the grounds that the Chinese delegation was not staying in that hotel. It appeared that our host did not like the Chinese delegation to come to that hotel.

The host of the congress also made careful arrangements at the conference hall, where, in addition to the delegates, a great number of Soviet "listeners" in the "visitors' galleries" were present; but they did more than listen. Some of them were in fact a cheering squad of

the manipulators of the congress. Their job was twofold: to applaud and back up those who put forward the erroneous line and to boo and catcall those who insisted on the correct line.

N.V. Popova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, said explicitly at a Moscow meeting of women activists held on July 8 that the "Soviet Women's Delegation, fulfilling the instructions given them, took all measures to secure the fruitful work of the congress." Now we know more clearly that the series of disgraceful acts described above were, in fact, all designed to fulfill the task given to them from above and to force the erroneous line upon the congress.

This erroneous organizational line carried out by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F., and especially their violation of the principles of democracy, roused widespread indignation and censure among the delegates taking part in the congress. The Albanian Women's Delegation's statement on this congress says: "Practices violating the principle of democracy were adopted at the plenary sessions and commission meetings of the congress and this hampered the normal proceedings of the work of the congress. This situation made it impossible for the delegates to have thoroughgoing discussions on all questions put before the congress." The Korean Women's Delegation in its statement says: "Some members of the executive body of the congress . . . steered the congress in an undemocratic manner in an uproarious atmosphere of slander and calumny, disorder and duress." ". . . Certain members of the executive body, obsessed by biased views, failed to discharge their duty with sincerity, betraying the confidence of the congress, and exerted negative influence

harmful to bringing the congress to a successful conclusion." "The Korean Women's Delegation, together with the delegates of some other countries, was denied the right to express its will to the full. . . ." "But, speeches running counter to the character of the congress and detrimental to the development of the world women's movement were actively defended and encouraged by certain members of the executive body of the congress and delegates from certain countries." "We sternly protest against this unjust act of some members of the executive body of the congress." Among the delegates from the Western countries, quite a few also showed their dissatisfaction with the manipulators of the congress who acted in such a disgraceful way. Some of the Italian delegates, for instance, told us that although they did not agree with the Chinese viewpoints, they too firmly disagreed with the manipulators of the congress who did things in that way.

Comrades: The present era is one pregnant with great and profound changes. At this critical juncture, there invariably are people who fail to catch up with the pace of historical development and even become a stumbling block on the way of progress. These people not only stand still themselves but also try to prevent others from advancing; they not only themselves do not make revolution but also forbid others to do so. At the World Congress of Women in Moscow, the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. thought that the correct course of the world women's movement could be changed, the emancipation of the world's women hindered and the aim of isolating China achieved by bringing the congress to adopt certain documents. But they completely miscalculated. By so

doing, they completely betrayed the fundamental interests of the women of the world, thus cutting themselves off from the broad masses of women in all countries and the revolutionary people of the world.

The attempt of the organizers of the Moscow World Congress of Women to isolate China and oppose China will never succeed. One delegate said: "We're discriminated against. Fortunately we have our brave Chinese sisters who speak out what we want to say." "China supports us in fighting against imperialism. To oppose China means to oppose us." During the congress session, after the Albanian delegate repudiated the attacks made by Mrs. Ulbricht on the Chinese delegation, someone speaking Russian went to the Albanian delegate, holding her hand tightly and said: "Thank you for supporting China." After the Chinese Women's Delegation voted against the "Appeal to the Women of the World" and made a statement on it, one Soviet friend of ours said to us: The Chinese Communist Party is the genuine Party of Lenin. Another, raising her fist, whispered: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" On the day following the close of the congress, some 160 women delegates from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and North America attended the reception given by our Ambassador to the Soviet Union Pan Tzu-li and his wife. At the reception, women delegates from various countries, all warm-hearted, danced, sang songs and expressed, in all manner of ways, their profound friendship for Chinese women and the Chinese people. One delegate said: "These people hope to isolate our dear Chinese friends but in vain." Let those anti-China heroes listen to these resounding voices! By opposing China and pleasing U.S. imperialism, they will certainly lift a rock to crush their own feet and will certain-

ly be deserted by the people of the whole world. Those who will eventually be isolated will be none other than this small group who go against the current of the time and the people.

To make revolution and to get emancipation are the urgent common desires of the women of the whole world and the irresistible historical tide of the present time. At present, U.S. imperialism, under cover of its "strategy of peace," is engaged in a still more frenzied arms drive and war preparations, intensifying its aggressions against the people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, intensifying its subversion and sabotage against the socialist countries, intensifying its oppression and exploitation of the people at home and in the countries allied to it. U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world. To safeguard their vital interests, women of all countries must unite closely, form a broad united front and join the other sections of the world's people in waging the most resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism. **The W.I.D.F. is a united organization of democratic women in all countries; under these circumstances it is only natural that it should reflect their common aspirations and mobilize women in the various countries to rise and fight U.S. imperialism.** But some leaders of the present organization said nothing about opposing imperialism and about revolution, instead, they are engaged in empty talk of disarmament and peaceful coexistence. What is there in common between this and the original purpose and revolutionary tradition of this organization? If they go on like this, how can they avoid being deserted by the revolutionary women of the whole world?

Comrades, throughout the World Congress of Women in Moscow, the Chinese Women's Delegation has all along held to the stand of persevering in principle, strengthening unity, eliminating differences and waging a common struggle against the enemy and has also made great efforts in the hope that this congress would press on along the path progressive women and the revolutionary people have hoped for, so that it could make positive contributions to the cause of the world women's fight against imperialism and colonialism, for national liberation, people's democracy, social progress and women's emancipation. If the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. had proceeded from the revolutionary interests of the women and people of the world, if they had treasured the cause of the unity of the world's progressive women in their fight against imperialism, if they had treasured the fundamental interests of women and children of the world and had given up their wrong stand and line and come back to the correct and revolutionary stand, the congress could have been held very satisfactorily. It is only because the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and certain other leaders of the W.I.D.F. persisted in their wrong stand and erroneous line that the congress went astray under their manipulation, thus leaving a most disgraceful page in the history of the world women's movement.

But, just as Chairman Mao has said, a bad thing can be turned into a good one. This congress has taught the women of the world a vivid lesson by negative example and made them see clearly who really oppose imperialism, and who neither oppose imperialism themselves nor allow others to do so; who really support the national-liberation movement and promote the emancipa-

tion of women, and who do not support the national-liberation movement and hold back the emancipation of women; who stand for uniting women the world over on the basis of opposing imperialism, and who discriminate against the women opposing imperialism, create a split in the women's movement and weaken the unity of the women of the world. All these will exert a far-reaching effect on raising the consciousness of women the world over and on the development of the world women's movement. Four days ago, in this very hall, a meeting was held by people of all circles in the capital to welcome the women delegations from Asian, African and Latin American countries, namely, those from Brazil, Comoro, Indonesia, Mozambique, Nepal, Venezuela, south Viet Nam, Zanzibar and other countries, who came to visit our country after having attended the World Congress of Women. At that meeting, delegates strongly criticized the Moscow World Congress of Women for having cast aside the anti-imperialist banner and conducting a number of anti-China farces; they unanimously and solemnly declared that they would carry to the end the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and the struggle for women's emancipation. This shows the bankruptcy of the schemes of those pulling the strings at the Moscow World Congress of Women. It is our belief that in the wake of the sharp struggle between the two lines at the Moscow World Congress of Women, progressive women of the world will see more clearly the course their struggle should take. They will march forward more firmly in their struggle, strengthen unity in their own ranks, shoulder the serious tasks of opposing imperialism and colonialism, old and new, striving for national independence, people's democracy, social prog-

ress and the emancipation of women, and courageously march on to new victories.

And now, let us shout together:

Oppose U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of the women and children of the world!

Support the struggle of the women of the world against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, for national independence, people's democracy, social progress and women's emancipation!

Long live the victory of the struggle of the women of the world!

Long live the great unity of the women of the world!

Long live world peace!

**RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT FOR ACTIONS OF
CHINESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION AT THE
MOSCOW WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN**

**ADOPTED BY PEKING RALLY OF WELCOME ON
JULY 18, 1963**

We, people from various walks of life in our capital, have gathered today at a grand meeting to give a warm welcome to the Chinese Women's Delegation returned from the World Congress of Women in Moscow and to hear a report by Yang Yun-yu, leader of the delegation, on how it took part in the congress. We completely support the actions of our country's delegation at the congress. The Chinese delegation, together with women delegates from other countries who oppose imperialism and want revolution and democracy, firmly upheld the correct line of opposing U.S.-led imperialism and colonialism, old and new, defending world peace, winning and safeguarding national independence, striving for people's democracy and social progress and defending the rights of women and children. Defying all kinds of pressure, the Chinese Women's Delegation courageously and determinedly repudiated the erroneous line which sets general and complete disarmament and peaceful co-existence as the overriding central task of the international women's movement; it frustrated the unbridled anti-China chorus; and, with great patience and self-restraint, it waged a sharp, intense struggle against the

leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the Women's International Democratic Federation who insisted on the erroneous line and on opposition to China. All this fully demonstrates the noble quality of the Chinese people and women who defend truth and uphold justice, and their correct stand of persevering in principle, eliminating differences, strengthening unity and waging a common struggle against the enemy.

We firmly support the Chinese Women's Delegation in voting against the "Programme for the Activities of the Women's International Democratic Federation" and the "Appeal to the Women of the World" of the congress, which were rammed through as a result of pressure exerted by the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F.

We resolutely condemn the leader of the Soviet Women's Delegation and some other leaders of the W.I.D.F. for flagrantly instigating an anti-China chorus at the congress. We resolutely condemn their arrogance and arbitrariness, their violation of democracy and their sectarian and splitting activities. Under their manipulation and control, the congress set the worst precedent in the history of international democratic organizations.

Despite the fact that the congress was badly run, we are firmly convinced that demand for revolution and emancipation is the pressing common aspiration of the women of the world and that no force can change the correct direction of the world women's movement. The correct line adhered to by the Chinese women and the rest of the Chinese people fully accords with the fundamental interests of the women and other people of the world. Truth is on our side. Any activity designed to

isolate us from the women and other people of the world is of no avail. The Chinese women and the rest of the Chinese people will always stand united with the women and other people of all countries and struggle for the complete victory of the cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

在莫斯科世界婦女大會上
兩條路綫的鬥爭

*

外文出版社出版(北京)

1963年第一版

編碼: (英)3050-670
00048

3-E-559p

